

No. 443 December 8, 1944 2d.

Destruction of Germany will not bring peace

"IF every German in Europe was struck dead tonight so that the whole centre of Europe became a vast mortuary, can any man or woman in this audience look into his heart and say: 'That would remove the menace of war from Europe. Henceforth there need be no armies, navies, or air-torces?' The question has only to be asked to be answered."

So said Commander Stephen King-

So said Commander Stephen King-Hall, Mr, at a Federal Union meeting in the Central Hall, Westminster,

on Thursday of last week.
Commander King-Hall had said that no-one should under-estimate "the heavy burden of guilt which darkens the future of the German nation," adding that "the Nazi tyrants have organized crimes the like of have organized crimes the like of which have not been seen in Europe since the Roman Empire collapsed into the barbarism of the Dark Ages."

EUROPEAN PROBLEM

"But," he went on, "having said that quite plainly and without any beating about the bush, we shall deceive ourselves if we avoid the fundamental problem with which Europe is faced—the problem of the anarchic sovereign State—by supposing that any system of control over Germany, any suppression of Germany, nowever prolonged, however severe, will bring an assurance of stable peace to Europe."

"Unite or perish" was the choice before European man, and it was essential to solve the local German problem in such a way that we lead into and do not hamper the solution

into and do not hamper the solution

of the European problem.

Commander King-Hall suggested that the rights of national sovereignty should be taken from the Germans, not as a punishment but as a first step towards a general European surrender of sovereignty. "Germany will be the laboratory, the starting-point for an all-European federation, and German energies can be trans-ferred to this task and thus deflected from plans of revenge."

Prisoners as "guinea-pigs"

Three out of eight COs who were segregated because of continued non-co-operation in a 1 deral prison in Connecticut, volunteered as "guineain a jaundice experiment to be conducted at the prison, reports The Conscientious Objector, of New York

The volunteers obtained an assurance that they would technically be considered still on strike and that they would be returned to their corresponding status at the experiment's

A JUST TRIBUTE

IN response to the appeal to readers to express their obligation to the devoted distributors of Peace News, contributions for this period have trebled. It would be more than a just tribute to their self-sacrificing labours if during the coming fortnight the gifts were to be trebled again.

It is so easy to forget what they have done and do: precisely because their work is so regular. Like clockwork, as we say. But each particular cog in this clockwork is an individual person who ungrudgingly gives up week by week a considerable part of his or her scanty leisure to the job of seeing that you get your Peace News. They deserve your gratitude.

Contributions since Nov. 24: £23 14s. 3d. Total to date: £5,564 5s. 7d.

THE EDITOR

Please make cheques, etc., payable to Peace News. Ltd., and address them to the Account-ant, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

LIBERATION PROVES A MOCKERY

A NARCHY in Europe comes nearer. On one day The Times (Dec. 3) spoke of the danger of civil war in Spain. On the next (Dec. 4) it wrote: "The seeds of civil war have been well and truly laid by the Athens police when they fired upon a demonstration of children and youths."

The issue in Greece is the disarmament of guerillas: that was the issue in Belgium where there was also bloodshed. In both cases the British military authorities have backed the Government

blamed for so doing.

In Belgium, however, popular sentiment is in favour of disarming the "resistance," among whom are considerable criminal elements. The situation in Greece is more obscure. Free elections everywhere seem the

only chance of producing governments with any stability. The prospect of free elections anywhere seems remote. Law and order are the pre-requisites. The problem is to estab-lish them.

Allies' sole aim

VER since the process of liberation began, the pains of the liberated have far outweighed their The word liberation, as we prophesied four years ago, has proved a mockery. It was, in the context of the present war, always corrupt. Neither Britain, nor Russia, nor USA was really concerned to liberate Europe. Had they been they would never have been in alliance: for the liberation of a European nation means very different things to all of

Neither were they concerned to destroy fascism. Mr. Churchill approved of fascism—in other countries, anyhow; and he went out of his tries, anyhow; and he went out of his way to encourage it in Spain. And for Stalin anything that was not Russian communism was fascism—even social democracy.

The aim, the sole aim, in Europe of the United Nations was to beat Germany. Germany could not be beaten unless the wore driven out of

beaten, unless she were driven out of the occupied countries. In that sense they had to be liberated—from Germany. But to liberate them for the sake of making them free—this was, with Britain, a wholly secondary aim; with Russia, perhaps not an aim at

A false rebirth

THAT is the first equivocation in the liberation of Europe. The second arises from the complete military defeat of all the European nations by Germany in 1941. By and large, the peoples of Europe accepted their defeat by Germany. There was no disgrace in so doing. By far the most powerful and the most military nation in Europe had conquered the It was inevitable.

The only autonomous resistance practically possible to them was non-military. How effective it might have been was indicated in Denmark and Norway. Had Britain and Russia not been determined upon the destruction of Germany, the nations of Europe might, by non-military resistance,

might, by non-military resistance, have destroyed the evil of Nazism and kept the good.

Instead, armed resistance was encouraged by Britain and Russia as a subsidiary aid to their effort to destroy Germany. This armed resistance was nugatory until the Allied armies actually arrived, and were actually victorious. But the resistactually victorious. But the resistance as nugatory until the Allied tories not their own. They were suddenly endowed with a fictitious importance, which did not correspond to real achievement. They represented a false represented their sented a false renascence of their defeated countries.

Humbug of purges

THESE false renascences have no moral title to power. But neither has anybody else. The great majority of the people of Europe would have The proportion of those who were really prepared to carry on an armed struggle against it was very small indeed. The period of their activity was brief, and chiefly when vicarious victory was a foregone conclusion. I am not denying that there were many heroes in the resistance movements;

which insists on disarming the "resistance." Nor can they be achievements were heroic—save in

Poland, which is a case apart, since "oppressor" and "liberator" were equally detested.

The evil consequence of this unheroic armed resistance is that it tends to compensate for its lack of military close by hypothesis. military glory by brutality. Its exploits are the summary execution of little people and the shaving of women's heads. The vaunted purge of collaborators was cruelty in the act, as it was humbug in the promise: for 99 people in 100 in the liberated countries were either collaborators or countries were either collaborators or black-marketeers. They were bound to be. Thus the purgers either become murderers, or they are in-hibited. Forty thousand people have been arrested in Belgium, 2 have been

Divorced from reality

SUCH moral confusion is impene-SUCH moral confusion is impene-trable. What governments there are in the liberated countries have power but no authority. Collabora-tion, which—to the extent of main-taining the essential services of a country—was the plain duty of a conscientious civil servant, has been artificially made into a crime. So the whole organ of administration, though irreplaceable, is discredited.

Observer's Commentary

Governments are denounced, but no alternative can be supplied. Add to this that much of the best manhood of the liberated countries is still imprisoned or working in Germany; and it is no wonder that a kind of creeping paralysis steals steadily over them.

One must have faith that somewhere in the background, in spite of the fearful hardships, the simple lives of simple folk go on. Never was a time when politics was more deeply divorced from the realities of national life than in the liberated countries today. The exploitation of the universal misery by political parties is indecent; more indecent still the conduct of those who from the comfortable side-lines of these islands cheer that political part who label heir on the political sect whose label suits their fancy.

Federal Union

NOTABLY, the remark which aroused most enthusiasm at A OTABLY, the remark which aroused most enthusiasm at Federal Union's London meeting on Nov. 30 was a protest against British treatment of the Resistance movement in Belgium. Yet the theme of the meeting was the iniquity of "sovereign, independent, anarchic use of arms," and a plea for an international armed force responsible to the citizens of the federating nations. Thus indoctrinated the audience de-Thus indoctrinated, the audience deplored national reluctance to sur-render sovereignty; and in the next breath applauded :: by implication (since this is the point of conflict) the irresponsible and anarchic re-

(CONTINUED ON BACK PAGE)

Our Unconditional Surrender — to war

by FRANK R. HANCOCK

TT is widely accepted that we must endure another six months of war because, under the demand of unconditional surrender, the German armies, east, south and west, have displayed a "fanaticism" that hitherto had been expected only of the Japanese,

Against numerical odds, with blasted towns, homes, factories, and communications behind them, the Germans have put up a fight which has Germans have put up a fight which has upset our military leaders' calculations. Prophets, even highly-placed, must be hoping that people's memories are short. Yet had the war gone against us, and had we been threatened with the Treaty of Versailles in reverse—or worse—would not our armies have fought to the last man"? Of course they would.

Why is unconditional surrender demanded? Not because of Germany's demanded? Not because of Germany's pre-war sins; not because Hitler rersecuted the Jews; not because the Fascists smashed democracy; not because of her aggressions. For in the House of Commons on Oct. 12, 1939, C. R. Attlee, Sir A. Sinclair, L. S. Amery and many other MPs agreed with the Prime Minister (Newills, Chemberlain);

agreed with the Prime Minister (Neville Chamberlain):

"We seek no material advantage for ourselves; we desire nothing from the Germans which should offend their self-respect. It is no part of our policy to exclude from her rightful place in Europe, a Germany which will live in amity and confidence with other nations."

N.:41

Neither is unconditional surrender demanded because of what had happened since the outbreak of war, "Atrocities" are not the reason, for they are common to all wars, and commonly attributed to both sides. The conduct of the Germans in the occupied countries of Western Europe, anyway has been more or less "correct."

"Total victory"

The change in the Allies' attitude since 1939 is due to the intention of Total Victory. Mars, long abred, is

in supreme control, and the War Machine has all belligerents in its steel grip. Total War will roll on to Total Victory and Total Surrender.

But other nations besides Germany will unconditionally surrender to the War God. Unconditional surrender is already imposed upon and accepted by Britain. All belligerents have, in the name of "Military Necessity," prosecuted the war with methods worse than barbaric. Eventually a Germany held down by the mechanized armies of three foreign Powers will not merely be a victim of nations will not merely be a victim of nations "drunk with power," but will be the expression of a European society that has lost its liberty, and is the powerless slave of the War Machine.

Fear will return

It is clear, too, that although at the moment we are not afraid of Germany our fear will return at the moment of victory, fear of her eventual resurgence and revenge. That is the feeble measure and short life of unconditional surrender, and every statesman of the Allied Powers will be aware of it.

The reason advanced by the Allies for demanding the unconditional sur-render of Germany is to prevent Ger-many saying, in a few years' time, that she was not beaten, and to ensure that some new Hitler will not whip up the war-like passions of the German people to launch a new war.

German people to launch a new war. The German armies are to be so soundly thrashed that war will hold no more glory for the German race.

That is the argument. But it will be remembered that Winston Churchill rallied the British people with his "This is our finest hour" oration. Our fortunes were at their lowest. A great Allied army had been beaten and scattered in a few weeks.

weeks.

But Dunkirk did not teach us that war does not pay. Dunkirk was the British Army's greatest disaster ever, but it will be proudly remembered long after many recent victories have been forgotten. The German Army

(CONTINUED ON BACK PAGE)

PEACE NEWS

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All letters on other than editorial matters should be addressed to the Manager

VOICES OF THE PEOPLE?

IN another column are some observations on the nature and limitations of European resistance move-ments. They are in the nature of the case largely conjectural. The evidence is lacking from which a clear and truthful picture can be drawn. But at the recent Federal Union

meeting in London, M. Goëau, the Secretary of the French Information Mission, gave some information which needs to be given due weight. He told of a secret meeting of delegates of the various European resistance movements, on May 15 last, which drafted a manifesto in favour of the federal union of the European countries including Germany. Moreover, the French Resistance movement as a whole supported the manifesto with one of its own which was distributed throughout France after the invasion.
"We therefore fight for the creation of a
Democratic European Federation open to all
the European peoples, including Great Britain
and the U.S.S.R."

So far, so good. But there are two points to be borne in mind. First, the meeting was held before D-day, that is, before the resistance movements were really in action. What the more heroic elements wanted them to be is at hest an unsattain indication. be is at best an uncertain indication

be is at best an uncertain indication of what they actually are.

Secondly, among the French resist ance movements which, according to M. Goëau, endorsed the project of a European federation is the Francs Tireurs Partisans. Now, the FTP is, in the main, a Communist organization. It is very remarkable that a Communist organization should have supported the proposal for a European federation which Moscow has so definitely rejected. Moreover, the evidence is that since the invasion the Communist elements in the Resistance Communist elements in the Resistance have been active in opposing not merely any suggestion of European federation, but the altogether more limited proposal of a Western Union. M. Thorez, the returned French Communist leader, gave no support to either plan in the speech he made on his return. He advocated a Russian-French alliance to control Europe. Two possible explanations of this

strange discrepancy suggest them-selves. One is that the FTP was at the time of the May meeting unaware of the Russian veto on European federation. That, though improbable, is not impossible. The other is that the FTP was simply pretending. It would certainly not be the first time that the Communists have adopted this tractic. this tactic. It may even be that they advocated European federation in order to discredit Western Union, on the principle: Le mieux c'est l'ennemi du bien.

The problem of determining the nature of the resistance movements is in part the problem of determining the nature of the Communist movethe nature of the Communist movements in Europe. Are they genuinely national? Or are they primarily guided by the desires and directives of Moscow? This is another aspect of the ambiguity of the European resistance. Until Germany attacked Russia the Communists in Western Europe were avowed defeatists. Have they changed? Or is their alliance with other elements of the resistance as the alliance between Russia and Britain appears to be? Is the lamentable history of the Popular Front to be repeated, in an atmosphere of deepened cynicism and disintegration, or will the libeantal or will the liberated countries throw up some really new, popularly based and united movement of national regeneration—which the best elements the resistance desired to be but which the movements as a whole are

As things are at present, it appears that only the presence of the Allied armies prevents actual civil war in the liberated countries. Civil war is always detestable; but this civil war would be a pure monstrosity. It would be the war of a minority against a be the war of a minority against a minority. For there is no evidence anywhere that the common man in liberated Europe has been able to speak his mind. That is what we are waiting to hear. How much longer have we to wait?

In our discussion on "The Right to Create", the view of

The Man in the Street

is put by ARTHUR BAYNTUN

aspects of "The Right to Create" and can heartily agree with both conclusions reached about the mechanistic and the mentally blank and physically destroyed man, I ask both Wilfred Wellock and John Middleton Murry to go further than they did in Peace

I have worked a circular saw for nine hours, day in, day out, month in month out, until that saw seemed to draw one on to its teeth. The number of accidents in jobs of this kind proves that it does.

News on Nov. 17.

I have also rip-sawed plank after plank and planed plank after plank by hand and know the extreme drudgery of it all.

Sports fans

I know also the mass-enjoyment of following a professional football club with rabid enthusiasm, and I can vouch for happiness of the kind that glows through one, because the club glows through one, because the club you support is in the running for the League Championship or The Cup. I can vouch for the good fellowship and comradeship of the folk who gather in the same place at each match and greet you on arrival with a welcome that cannot be outdone for warmth and sincerity anywhere; and warmth and sincerity anywhere; and the play, the grace and ease of ball control, the wizardry of a favourite player and the supreme achievement of something done so well that it appears simple to emulate.

I have known too the miserable existence of neighbours who habitu-ally frequent Dog Tracks for their means of enjoyment and find the excitement turned sour by losses, so that their whole family suffers.

I also know workers who create at their work in true craftsman style, completing their job throughout and yet are as completely mass-minded as the "doggy" neighbour. Some of them consider the reading of books much too adjectival silly for anyone but their betters.

THAT Mr. Wellock is right about

S one who has experienced both know from actual living experience. But is he right that it is the machine that produces it? I believe he is, up to a point; but that point is what we have to examine.

As I have shown above, what he believes (and I believe too) to be a mass-mind is found in both the machine-worker and the craftsman. That there are hosts of exceptions in the machine-workers, as he says in his article, is true of the craftsmen too; but my working and living contacts prove they are the exceptions.

Happy combination

Mr. Murry, I take it, wants to combine the machine and the craftsman. This I too believe to be the only salvation for society, but even this happy combination—and it is a happy combination, for the use of the machine to take away the drudgery does make interesting and happy work—is not enough in itself to do away with the mass-mind. I am sure both Mr. Wellock and Murry know this, as it is obvious in their writings. But—

Here are two examples of machinecraftsmen combination jobs that don't give real satisfaction. One, a number of the same articles have to be made throughout by one person under these conditions: constant supervision of at least a foreman and chargehand, the necessity for speed so as to compete with fellow-workers, hence the scamping of a job and the ignoring of all blemishes likely to pass the examiner; the constant and ever-present fear of the sack, either through a mistake or lack of work, coupled with the knowledge that the profits—quite appreciably large ones —on your work will go to make an already easy life easier, and the only use your labours have been to the community is that anyone who needs your product, unless he has means to buy it, is denied it although he may be quite capable of producing your needs. Hence comes frustration in a craftsman, here is the breeding-ground for the mass-mind, the effort to overcome conditions being too much and the easier road of the "Dogs," etc., being followed.

HAT Mr. Wellock is right about The second example: articles or the sort of society we have, I alterations to be made under working

conditions almost entirely opposite to number one. Time to make a really first-class job, only one of its kind to be made so that repetition is reduced to a minimum, machines do the drudgery; and yet to what end? The whim of the few. Around are necessities needed for the many but they are by-passed. Again frustration leading to the "Dogs" or a somnabulist mind, or of course the urge to a new way out.

WHAT is the way out? I have read and heard both writers on this subject, and while I find it diffi-cult to understand fully Mr. Wel-lock's way forward, his analysis of the present situation I certainly do

mr. Murry, on the other hand does, in "Adam and Eve," give us an alternative path to follow and in his treatent of The Right to Create is much more definite on the use of the machine.

But how are we to offer the family of the "Dogs" man an environment whereby they can have the right to create?

What is there to offer the machinecraftsman so that his need of service is directed into channels for the

What of the others?

And lastly how does the right to create materialize for the people who are not lucky enough to be craftsmen —the sewage-man, the dustman, the transport and power folk? For if we believe in the use of machinery, someone has to supply at least our power.

Are we to advocate the forming of small co-operative groups in which a modest standard of living is accepted and anything above this goes to bring assistance to the community in some way? Can these groups cater by their produce for the other groups so that a system of barter can be fostered?

And—last but not least—can members of these groups still keep contact with the "Doggy" family and help them to a way out?

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LETTERS

Dr. William Temple

The letter printed last week from E. J. Theobald contrasts strongly with the Rev. Henry Carter's appreciation of the late Dr. Temple.

Your correspondent is right, of course, in suggesting that Dr Temple was no pacifist; indeed on occasion he described himself as an anti-pacifist. Yet surely this makes it the more remarkable that he should have so boldly championed the rights of the

so boldly championed the rights of the pacifist minority that he sincerely believed to be Wrong?
In addition to the Rev. Henry Carter's illustrations, it may be noted that in a York Diocesan leaflet in August, 1940, Dr. Temple wrote: "Several public bodies have lately passed resolutions terminating the employment of any persons working for them who have pleaded conscientious objection to military service. I regard this as utterly deplorable and in the deepest sense unpatriotic. We are fighting for freedom, including freedom of conscience as its most vital and sensitive element. The State has recognized the reality of conscientious objection to military service, and it is part of our glory that it does this." It was his charity and fairness to opponents that distinguished Dr. Temple's attitude to COs. They are noteworthy qualities.

A. JOE BRAYSHAW Central Board for COS.

Central Board for COs, 6 Endsleigh St., W.C.1.

Peace and democracy

Presumably my reply to John Eliot's criticism (PN, Oct. 20) was crowded out by the interesting correspondence you published in issue of Nov. 3; but niease find space for this importan query: Why do you assume that peace is a product of democracy?

It is K beral bias of this sort that leads H. A. L. Fisher in his "History of Europe" to tell his readers that armed camps in Europe were due to the defeat of Liberalism in Germany (as though nationalism, power-politics and war were invented by Prussians in 18621), and he states that in England foreign policy is controlled by "the peuple." That this is not so was clearly shown on Aug. 3. 1914, but for the purpose that "the people." That this is not so was clearly shown on Aug. 3. 1914, but for the purpose that "the people" or rather that section whose candidates reach narliament—really did control their MPs and that the MPs really did control the Foreign Office: how—in a world of national States—would such a system ensure peace? In 1870 Bismarck found it difficult to

induce King William to agree to mobilization, but meanwhile "the people" in Paris were shouting "a Berlin"; seven years later British democrate were bawling "by Jingo if we do," and three decades afterwards the "voice of the people" here was "we want eight, we won't wait."

JOHN NIBB

BM/JONIB, W.C.1.

Why do so many of your contributors and pamphleteers pre-suppose all pacifists to be democrate? There are many members of the movement who are totally opposed to democratic principles but whose pacifism is unquestionable and the integrity of whose faith in non-violence has remained unmodified. Why alienate these by this continual harping on the apparently magic word "democrat"?

If the appellation "pacifist" is to become synonymous with the regime of party government, it is evidently time for many of us to tender our resignation and withdraw from an organization which we authorized to speak in our name where the pure teachings of resistance to war are concerned but not to interpolate into those the murky doctrines of modern State-democracy.

MICHAEL GARDNER

Inhumanity

In your columns recently there appeared an account of conditions in a German camp for Russian prisoners-of-war. Without any desire to excuse the inhumanity of the Germans I wish to point out that they cannot be charged with sole responsibility for these conditions. I quote from an article in the Observer concerning General Vlassov, the Red Army Quisling:

"Similar feelings amongst the 2,000,000 Russian prisoners of war in Germany provide him with his recruiting field. The position of these Russian prisoners of war is tragic. They are far worse treated and nourished than Western prisoners, and they do not enjoy the protection of the Geneva Convention, of which Soviet Russia is not a member. They receive no Red Cross parcels from home, and the Russian authorities have discouraged any help for them from this country or the USA. According to the Russian military code a soldier has to kill himself rather than allow himself to be taken prisoner. Accordingly, these prisoners have fallen outside the law; they have to fear their own Government as much as their captors."

This shows quite clearly that if the Germans can also. But can com'ortably situated British poscifists judge either Russians or, Germans I think not.

A. E SOUTH
"Hillcrest" Cottage, resfield, nr. Ilkley, Yorks.

A. E SOUTH "Hillcrest" Cottage, Messfield, nr. Ilkley, Yorks.

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P.P.U. HEADQUARTERS Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh St., WC I

"WE CAN'T DO IT HERE"

"THIS is one of the most difficult places to get anything done"; that is a complaint that we have all met and some of us have used. Whether we discuss campaigning or service work, development or study, service work, development or study, we meet it—and yet it cannot be true. No doubt there is a "worse place" somewhere, but it isn't yours. Obviously, the worst town is one without any PPU organization or pacifist work. So take heed and take heart. We don't believe that yours is "one of the most difficult places" and much as we symmethize with your and, much as we sympathize with you, we shall not agree with you when you get that hopeless feeling again.

The hopelessness arises really from a sense of frustration. We urge people to come to meetings and to do other jobs, and they take no notice. We plead with them to no better effect. We make emphatic appeals, but only emphasize our lack of success success.

Is this because some of us still think only in terms of organization? We shall never persuade people to be organized just for the sake of it. Development is not emd never was a matter merely of organization. It is an attempt to build an organization for the Union, with a recognition that the Union is the important part. We try to bring members together because it is only in meeting and knowing each other that they become part of a truly democratic movement.

Perhaps we forget that our lagging members are tired. And many of them are also feeling their own sense of frustration. Far from demanding things, perhaps we ought to be offering them something. If we try to bully them against what is their will or mood of the moment, then we really set up a discord which is the beginning of disintegration. Can we not aim instead for integration and try to find some point of harmony: meet them as friends, enter into their difficulties, invite them to a simple, relaxing function now and again?

That is where all worth-while movements begin. May we not, some of us, have to make new beginnings?

If there is any unity, it will develop from that point. We hope that all our members will struggle to achieve it. But we must first put our personal preoccupations on one side. Unity for each one of us consists in what we can agree in the other person. "Of course, in our town that sort of thing doesn't work."

But have you really tried it out?

FRANK DAWTRY

FRANK DAWTRY

Manchester leads the way IN NATIONAL PETITION

CAMPAIGN

SOME may question the old saying that "what Manchester thinks today the rest of the country thinks tomorrow," but no-one can dispute the fact that Manchester is setting the rest of the country an excellent example in the campaign for a Constructive Peace, and in the promotion of the National Petition around which it is centred.

The committee has an energetic secretary. Peter Whitaker, who is ably supported by Mrs. Willis Paterson as chairman. Well-known local people chairman. Well-known local people sponsoring the campaign include Lady Barclay. P. M. Oliver, CBE, Dr. E. Vipont Brown, Rhys J. Davies, MP, Rev. Stanley Mossop, W. H. Oldfield,

Rev. Stanley Mossop, W. H. Oldfield, MP and many others.

A special printing of Petition forms and leaflets has been made locally, and these are now being sent out to many hundreds of organizations in the district, and arrangements completed for a house-to-house canvass. Speakers are being sent to the meetings of local societies to explain the plan and purpose of the campaign, and a lunch-hour meeting will be held on Dec. 15 at 1.15 p.m. in the Friends' Meeting House, Mount Street. Plans are also well advanced for a public demonstration with national speakers, early in the New Year.

Naturally, every town cannot tackle things in such a big way, but Birmingham and Leicester are following Manchester closely with considered plans, and specially printed literature and organized action in support of the campaign is developing in a large number of places.

Gerald Bailey Director of the Netional Peace

Gerald Bailey, Director of the National Peace Gerald Bailey, Director of the National reace Council, spoke on the campaign to the Area Council of the PPU and representatives of other societies at Southampton on Saturday, at a public meeting on the same evening, and at Northampton on Wednesday. John Lamming, Assistant Director of the NPC, has recently addressed meetings to establish local committees at Hendon, Sydenham, Croydon, and

Beckenham.

Plans are already being made for an intensified drive in support of the National Petition between January and the end of March, which are likely to include the organization of Petition Weeks, a country-wide display of special posters, and other activities. Offers of help, inquiries for literature, and suggestions as to the prosecution of the campaign should be sent to the National Peace Council at 144 Southampton Row, London, W.C.1.

DAVID SPRECKLEY SENT TO PRISON

David Spreckley, actor and stage manager, who was a member of the PPU headquarters staff some years ago, was sent to prison for 6 months at Oxford on Nov. 24 after pleading guilty to failing to comply with his conditions of registration as a CO.

He told the court that he had played "hide and seek" with the Nazis in Prague in 1938, that he had run a mobile canteen in a blitzed area and helped to dig out bomb victims, and that he had volunteered for reconstruction work after the war.

CONSCRIPTION IN PEACE-TIME?

Challenge to the P.P.U.

"There is no more frontal attack on modern war," said John Morley, speaking at a Carlisle conference of PPU Area officers on Saturday, "than that on the supply-lines—conscription."

The conference agreed that in military and industrial conscription for war purposes the PPU had its most crucial post-war challenge. It was generally agreed, however, that there could be no "party line."

"If we can make it possible," said Leonard Dignam, "to maintain our underlying unity and yet leave people free to engage in activities on which they feel keenly, we shall have gone a long way to becoming a real movement."

The conference, at which five northern Areas were represented, was the first of a series planned to give Area officers an opportunity of discussing policy and organizational questions. Patrick Figgis, at the first session, stressed the importance of remembering and building on the fundamental agreements among members, which he believed were far more important than the fundamental differences.

THEY PAID TRIBUTE TO **DOROTHY EVANS**

About 500 friends and colleagues of the late Dorothy Evans went to pay tribute to her at the Caxton Hall on Sunday afternoon. Though the meeting was organized by women's societies, her pacifism was not forgotten. Vera Brittain said that both she and Dorothy Evans owed much to the influence of Olive Schreiner, who rightly saw that a militaristic society is always essentially an anti-feminist society, whatever temporary and superficial openings war offered to women. Vera Brittain made it clear that Dorothy's feminism and pacifism were part of a consistent whole. Sybil Thorndike read Shelley's "Ode to the West Wind" and the 91st Psalm.

Laurence Housman, unable to be present,

Laurence Housman, unable to be present, wrote: "She was a valiant soul, valiant when the prospects of women's rights were much darker than now. In those days we used to enrage our opponents by saying we knew we were going to win. She had no doubt that you would win."

Sybil Morrison, who was in the chair, said that though Dorothy Evans had enemies, as had all fighters, she always looked for the good even in her enemies and always found it—which was the essence of her pacifism.

Other speakers were Monica Whately, Ambrose Appelbe, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Mrs. Corbett Ashby, Dr. Edith Summerskill, Lyndal Evans, and Mrs. Phyllis Vallance.

£590 7s. 11d. has been collected for the Memorial Fund. It is hoped to reach £1,000.

NEXT WEEK -

-will bring you our special 6-page Christmas issue, with coatributions by Dr. Donald Soper and Patrick Figgis and an Arthur Wragg cartoon, as well as a number of other interesting features.

Don't forget

—you can get extra copies at half-price, so that you can help to secure a w.der distribution than usual for the paper at a time when many people may be more receptive to its message. Order your extra copies now from your distributor, or direct from the Publishing Dept., Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., London, N.4, at Id. per copy (on copies additional to normal order only), cash with order.

There will be a special poster—probably dealing with Food-Relief Campaign's concern over extra Christmas rations being given to the British people while so many in Europe starve. Please order posters immediately.

WISE SPENDING

SPENDING power is governed these days by coupons rather than money. In most households there is a surplus—often small—of unspent earnings at the end of the week. I have been trying to persuade members of the PPU in all parts of the country to spend some of this surplus in two ways:

On extra copies of Peace News;
 On books.

The results have shown that people are prepared to spend lavishly in buying books—often expensive ones— (wisely now that the supply is short and many books are going out of print) but few can be persuaded to spend an extra 2d. to introduce Peace News to a prospective subscriber.

During the next two weeks the PPU Bookshop at Endsleigh Street is expecting to break all records. (Sales would be phenomenal if every member would order his books, book-tokens, and Christmas Cards from Dick Shepnard House) pard House.)

Equally good results would follow if 1,000 readers would spend an extra 2d. per week in laying the foundations for an increased circulation on which to build a larger membership.

JOHN BARCLAY

TRANK DAWTRY

TR

ance elements.

Federal Union has lost its élan of 1940. Yet the change of emphasis from Streit's "Atlantic Federation" to a European Federation ("as a first step") responds to present realities. And in giving non-members like King-Hall and Horabin a platform the organizers are steering clear of a rigid party-line.

Fearful or foolish?

THE four little boys of Aachen who were exhibited to a gaping public as Nazi desperadoes turn out to have been, exactly what they looked like-namely, four little boys. They found

a gun and fired it into a sandpit.

The disturbing part of the whole episode is that the fictitious story was handed out by the British military authorities. If they did it in good faith believing that the four little boys really were desperate snipers, it indicates a condition nearly approaching cates a condition nearly approaching jitters in the soldiers who arrested them and started the story. If they did it deliberately, as part of the "no fraternization" propaganda, then it is time they were decorated and replaced by some less dangerous fools.

Inconsistent policy

NOW that M. Mikolajczyk has resigned The New Statesman has discovered that "he laboured for many months with patience and moderation to bring about an understanding with Moscow." But while he was labouring it gave him precious little encouragement. No one who read The New Statesman during his uneasy tenure of office could have any idea that Russia was not entirely in the right and Poland entirely in the wrong.

We turn to the Economist (Dec. 2) for something nearest the truth

We turn to the Economist (Dec. 2) for something nearer the truth.

"M. Mikolajczk's willingness to make concessions and to come to terms with Russia has so far not met with any real response or encouragement from Moscow. The Poles were left far too long to believe that they would find support in Allied countries for intransigence towards Russia; and that the Western Allies would be able and willing to intervene actively in Russian affairs. This period of illusion led to a correspondingly more painful disillusion. The Western Allies have now swung over to the other extreme and have backed the Russian viewpoint far beyond the limits of reason. If British and American diplomacy could do little or nothing to help the Poles, it ought at least to have refrained first- of all from encouraging them to get themselves into a hopeless position, and then later from endorsing the Russian policy when it became manifestly unjust and wrong."

Economic conflict

R. CONNALLY, of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, has declared that the oil agreement will never be ratified. That, coming on top of the failure to reach agreement on the control of civil aviation, is a plain indication that, unless a miracle happens, USA and Britain will be economically at loggerheads

the moment the war stops.

The powerful American oil and aviation interests, in the name of "free enterprise," have easily won the fight

enterprise," have easily won the light against any kind of control. The Times (Dec. 5) asks glumly:
"What chances are there for the successful negotiation of a multilateral agreement to reduce trade barriers if other and highly protected American groups—the textile and machine industries and the farm bloc, to name no others—set their faces in the opposite direction?"

There is no "if." Their faces are There is no ii. Their laces are set in the opposite direction.
"It will need great skill, tolerance and understanding on both sides of the ocean to prevent a severe worsening of relations arising out of trade matters after the war." (Manchester Guardian, Nov. 25.)

Conference on youth

Conference on youth

A conference for teachers and youth workers will be held under the auspices of the PPU Youth Committee at Friends House, Euston Road, on Saturday, Dec. 30, with sessions from 11 a.m. to 1 p.m. and 2 30 to 5 p.m. Dr. Alex Wood will be in the chair.

The following subjects will be discussed: (1) "Should we try to get the pacifist message across to children and young people? If so, how?" (2) "Will the opportunities for joining pre-Service training units after the war be likely to lessen the appeal of the ordinary youth club? If so, how can this difficulty best be met?" (3) "As pacifists we are concerned with the whole life and full development of each person. Is the present educational system and the usual school curriculum best suited to this end?"

Those who intend to be present should notify Patrick Figgis, 6 Endsleigh St., W.C.I. in advance. An endeavour will be made to arrange hospitality if desired.

POSTAL SUBSCRIPTION RATES Home: quarterly, 3s. 3d.; yearly, 12s. 6d. Abroad: quarterly, 2s. 9d.; yearly, 10s. 6

Peace News is open for the expression of all points of view relevant to pacifism. Articles in it, whether signed or unsigned, do not necessarily represent the policy of the Peace Pledge Union, of which it is the weekly organ. Nor does the acceptance of advertisements imply any endorsement of, or PPU connexion with, the matter advertised.

More controlled food-relief is

planned FOR CHANNEL ISLANDS

"More than one and a quarter million food parcels and a ton of medical supplies are to be sent to the civil population of the Channel Islands by the International Red

"The Germans have agreed in principle to this relief, and it now remains for the final arrangements to be made. The supplies will be carried by a Swedish steamer, and two Swiss officials of the International Red Cross will supervise distribution." (Daily Sketch, Nov. 29.)

THIS concession by a British Government has been made as a result of considerable pressure in the Press and in Parliament, where the Home Secretary has had to reply to a number of Questions on the subject.

Two conclusions may be drawn—that public pressure on the food-relief issue may still be effective in moving the Government, and that controlled food relief is still a practicable proposition in German-held territory.

Local committees and others who have been active in this connection may well feel encouraged to continue their efforts on behalf of Norway, Poland and occupied Holland, as well as France, Belgium, Greece, and liberated Holland.

USE OF ANTWERP

The freeing of Antwerp as a port opens new possibilities for relief in Belgium and Holland. The News Chronicle (Dec. 1) said that Antwerp "can handle all the British military tonnage which may be required for the armies in North-West Europe and, at the same time, deal with an enormous additional tonnage of supplies for civilian use." With 23 grain elevators, each capable of unloading 200 tons per hour, it can play a vital part in helping to feed the population

of the liberated territories.

All reports from the Continent make clear the urgency of further re-

lief measures.

"M. Pierlot . . . discussing the 'extreme gravity' of the nation's food position . . . said that Belgium had enough domestic fats for a fortnight and enough home-killed meat for a month." (News Chronicle, Dec. 1.)

"It (Rome) is a half-starved city." (Manchester Guardian, Nov. 30.)

"Latest reports from occupied Holland show that the famine conditions feared for some time have now definitely set in in the towns of lief measures. "M. Pierlot . .

FRANK HANCOCK (continued from page one)

has a dozen "Dunkirks," disasters that will be the themes of the stories, books, and poems of the next generation of Germans. Lorient, Brest, Havre, Dieppe, Boulogne, Calais, and the Breskens will become epics of German valour, each one of which will be as heroic as our own Dunkirk, and Arnhem. These are the

defeats out of which the martial spirit of Germany will be reborn.

"Unconditional surrender" will but stimulate this ardour. Will young Germany, twenty years hence, forgive the imposition of such unprecedent. the imposition of such unprecedented terms when their fathers had fought so bravely upon the battlefronts and their mothers had "taken it" so courageously in blitzed and flooded cities and towns? So will disappear the one reason that has been officially put forward for unconditional surgicular surgicula render, a demand that shames un-generous victors far more than it will disgrace a helpless and defeated people.

General Montgomery shook hands and breakfasted with General Von Thoma, who surrendered in North Africa. General Eisenbrower promises German soldiers, "as brave enemies" that if they surrender they will be well treated and returned safely to Germany after the war, where they will live to rebuild their country.
Why cannot the German people be treated "as becomes brave enemies," a similar promise given to civilians, and peace be brought appreciably nearer?

The world is littered with Deeds of Separation. A Deed of Partnership between the peoples is urgently

called for.

Why cannot it be drawn up? The reason is that Total War has already defeated the British people. as well as the German people. We cannot do what we want to do, what we know we ought to do. Total War has exacted Unconditional Surrender of called for.

Western Holland." (Netherlands Government Information Bureau, quoted by Nottingham Journal, Nov. 25.)

Side by side with these reports

must be read the Prime Minister's promise in the Commons on Nov. 30 that this country should have "some improvements in standards and variety of national diet" as soon as the war with Germany was over. The News Chronicle (Dec. 1) expected that ships not required for the Far East campaign would be back in the American food trade when Germany had "been dealt with." It must have brought a sense of

shame to many readers of The Times (Nov. 29) to see a picture entitled "Gifts from Belgian Children." The

story it told was brief:
"At a school in Brussels as children hand in toys for British children in devastated areas. A large number of toys have been given by Belgian children, who have been promised that they will reach this country in time for distribution at Christmas."

No transport difficulties appear to have arisen here.

A CALL TO SOCIAL SERVICE

Pacifist Service Units has always sought to co-operate with all who share its concern for the social problems it is trying to tackle, feeling that the needs it aims to fill are the responsibilities of the community as a whole and not merely of pacifists.

To make known this view, the Liverpool Unit (one of those engaged on casework with "problem families") held a public meeting on Nov. 19, at which the Rev. George MacLeod, leader of the Iona Community, was the speaker. It was planned primarily for members of the Christian for members of the Christian Churches, and Dr. MacLeod addressed an audience of some 240 people on "New demands of the faith to meet our day." The chairman was the Rev. H. S. Wilkinson, a non-pacifist. George MacLeod emphasized that Christians today would find God, not

by a withdrawal into spirituality, but by and through the service of men, attempting to meet their spiritual through their physical needs, and by trying to remedy the serious defects in our social system. As the living God revealed himself in the body, so the Church would find Him through the service of men's bodies.

In this joint responsibility, pacifists and non-pacifists could work together and learn much from each other.

I.V.S.P LOOKS AHEAD

At the annual general meeting of the International Voluntary Service for Peace, held in Sheffield on Nov. 25 and 26, the Secretary reported that three units have reached the Middle East where they have already done valuable work among Greek and Yugoslav

The other outstanding development during the past year has been in youth work. Ser-vices for young people were organized at Christmas and Easter and in the summer holi-Christmas and Easter and in the summer holidays, and included re-decorating youth hostels, helping with evacuee children, and harvesting. During the summer some 25,000 hours' work were done by about 500 boys and girls on IVSP camps. In every case those for whom the young people worked expressed great satisfaction with the spirit of the young workers and the quality of their work.

This summer has seen a re-commencement of normal peace-time IVSP work in a short-time service on a prospective holiday estate (for providing cheap family holidays) at Ruthin, North Wales. It is hoped that the coming year will see further schemes of this kind to which those who cannot give permanent service can devote a part of their holidays.

Particularly welcome was the visit of Rudolfo Olgiati, of Switzerland, formerly International Secretary of the "Service Civile"—a visit which brought assurance that international co-operation in constructive work will once more become a practical reality.

"Forcibly taken abroad"

The story of a soldier who turned CO, was court-martialled for obeying orders, and left his unit after serving 56 days' detention, then gave himself up to the police and (it is claimed) was forcibly taken to France and forcibly dressed in uniform, is given in the November issue of the Rulletin of the Central

issue of the Bulletin of the Central Board for COs.

The soldier is H. Lloyd Naylor, of Hull. His father and uncle were COs in the last war, and two cousins are COs in this. He has been brought back to England following representations by the CBCO, and now awaits a second court-martial.

Words of Peace - 102

There has never been a just war or an honourable one. I can see a million years ahead and this rule will never change. The loud little handful will shout for war. The pulpit will object at first. The great, big, dull hulk of the nation will rub its sleepy eyes, and try to make out why there should be a war, and will say: "It is unjust and disherewable and there is not a second to the same and there is not the same and the sa be a war, and will say: "It is unjust and dishonourable, and there is no necessity for it." Then the handful will shout louder. A few fair men on the other side will argue and reason against war and at first will have a hearing and will be applauded; but it will not last long; those others will outshout them and presently the anti-war audiences will thin out and lose popularity.

Before long you will see this curious thing: the speakers stoned from the platform, and free speech strangled by hordes of furious men, who in their by horaes of furious men, who in their hearts are still at one with those stoned speakers—but do not dare say so. And now the whole nation, pulpit and all, will take up the war cry, and mob any honest man who ventures to open his mouth; and presently such mouths will cease to open.

-Mark Twain in "The Mysterious

DEATH OF CECIL CATFORD

Cecil Catford, well known in North London as a Quaker, PPU member, and secretary of the Hornsey Advisory Bureau for COs, died suddenly on Saturday. A memorial meeting will be held in the Friends' Meeting House, Muswell Hill, today (Friday) at 7.30 p.m.

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front-pages its opposition to postwar conscription. Inside, Sydney Bailey sketches a background to China, G. W. Young discusses bread-and-butter "Equality," and Alan Staniland looks at "Leisure"

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